2: Stefansson--103 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 322, 438

"There is also a specialization of industries by tribes according to the natural resources of the country. The Kogluktogmiut and others who hunt south to the woods of Great Bear Lake during the summer, make from spruce saplings large numbers of the type of tent poles necessary for the A-shaped skin tents that are in common use. They also make complete bows of wood, sinew, and antler all of which are more abundant among them than among most other of the mainland tribes. They also rough out the wooden materials for bows intended for sale to men who themselves are sufficiently supplied with sinew to be able to finish the work.

Commonly, those who hunt to Bear Lake abandon their sleds in the spring in the neighborhood of the seacoast and make new ones in the Bear Lake woods upon which to haul to the coast their household gear and the wooden wares they have made in summer. When they get to the coast with these new sleds they find there waiting for them the old sled of the year before and as no man has more than three dogs nor use for more than one sled, there is always one sled for sale.

Besides the articles already mentioned, the Bear Lake hunters during the summer make large numbers of snow shovels, wooden platters, planks intended for the floors of snowhouses, tables, and sideboards to be used in connection with the cooking over the seal oil lamp and the uprights and cross pieces needed for supporting the lamp on the table and for swinging the stone pots as well as supporting the drying frame upon which

the damp clothing is dried over the flame of the lamp, harpoon shafts, and spear shafts both for the caribou lance and the fishing spear as well as for the long gaffs that are chiefly used by the fishermen at Bloody Fall. All these are made in greater quantities than are needed by the makers and the Bear Lake hunters may therefore be considered merchants in wooden ware."

2: Stefansson--103-112 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 322, 438

"While the Bear Lake people make their implements and utensils out of green standing trees which they chop down at great labor with adzes, the Akuliakattagmiut also make various wooden articles for sale out of the driftwood which is more abundant on their beach than upon the shores of the rest of the Copper Eskimo district. While the Bear Lake men have to rough out each piece from green wood and leave it for months to dry before the wood is seasoned enough for finishing, the Akuliakattagmiut find the wood already seasoned to their hand. Neither do they have to carry the made articles long distances to the seacoast as do the Bear Lake traders. As a consequence, the Akuliakattagmiut are also great makers of sleds and bows and other wooden things with which they supply a considerable [112] portion of Victoria Island. Their sleds and their bows are considered to be about as good as those from Bear Lake although the bows intended for sale are seldom if ever completely finished for caribou sinew is scarce with the Akuliakattagmiut. In one thing only do the Bear Lake products excel according to popular estimation and that is that their tent poles being made of the slim saplings that grow in the thick woods are better than ones made on the sea shore by the splitting of large logs and adzing them down."

2: Stefansson--113 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 438, 316

"As has been pointed out above, the Haneragmiut receive copper and caribou skins from the north and articles of wood from the south and these act as go-betweens for the Haneragmiut and Akuliakattagmiut. Their only peculiar local resource is that there are some deposits of iron pyrites, a substance that is universally used by the Copper Eskimo in kindling fire, and this they sell to many of the surrounding tribes."

CHAPTER I

MATERIAL RESOURCES

Few people have been called upon to sustain life and perpetuate their race on such meagre resources as the Copper Eskimo. Even if they had been acquainted with agriculture the climate debarred it, just as it debarred the growth of trees except in two or three sheltered valleys along the southern fringe of their territory. It restricted not only the flora but the fauna, leaving the natives dependent for their food and for much of their equipment on one land animal, the seasonally migrating caribou, and two sea mammals, the foetid and the bearded seals, supplemented by such fish as they could capture in rivers, lakes, and bays. Ignorant of all metals except their native copper, which seemed to them only a malleable stone, and cut off from contact with any but neighbouring tribes, little or no more advanced than themselves, they had to build up their lives on the scanty resources provided by their own narrow environment, and rely on their own ingenuity to supply all their needs.

The resources provided by their environment fall naturally into four groups:

Wood
Stone (including native copper and other minerals)
Bone, antler, horn, ivory
Hides and sinew.

WOOD

The Copper Eskimo obtained their wood from two sources. First, there was the driftwood, mainly spruce and cottonwood, carried to the ocean by Mackenzie River far to the westward and borne by the winds and currents to Dolphin and Union Strait and western bays of Victoria Island. Then in the valleys of three rivers that flowed into Coronation Gulf, Coppermine, Napaktauktauk, and Tree, there stood scattered groves of spruce, small and stunted, a few miles from the coast, but larger as one proceeded south. Far to the southeast, too, near Thelon River, were other stands of spruce that the Eskimo from Bathurst Inlet and from the eastern shores of Victoria Island occasionally visited in their wanderings. Thus the Copper Eskimo had abundant wood to satisfy all their needs; but as driftwood was very scarce in many districts, and the standing timber on the southern fringe of their territory could be reached only after a long journey overland, which many natives were disinclined to make, manufactured objects of wood were among the commonest articles of trade and passed freely from one end of the territory to the other. Moreover, so crude were the Eskimo tools, and so great the labour of cutting down the trees and hewing the timber into shape, that any object of moderate size, such as a sled-runner, a table, or even a tent-pole, commanded a high price.[1]

The principal tools used in working wood were the adze and the whittling knife (*See* pp. 100 and 103). Bone or antler wedges, generally made for each occasion and immediately discarded, served to split small logs and planks; they were driven home with boulders. Lacking saws, the Eskimo shortened a plank in one or other of three ways: they hacked it with the adze; gouged it across with the grooving tool (*See* p. 100); or they drilled a line of holes across it with the bow drill.

[1] Cf. Stefansson, V.: The Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition: Anth. Papers, Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., vol. XIV, pt. I, pp. 33, 68 ff et al., New York, 1914.

a hunting-knife lashed to the end of a tent-pole. That had been a terrific battle, infinitely more thrilling than our recent chase, for what chance had the two bears against a .44 Winchester? But a bear is a bear, however it is slain, and the joy of my companions was not lessened because the danger had been slight. The species remained as formidable as ever, and its representatives, even when dead, should be treated with caution and respect. So the prudent Ikpuck placed a needle-case beside the mother, and a miniature bow and arrow beside the cub, that they might not travel empty-handed to the spirit-home of their kind.

We camped beside the carcass of the larger bear for three days, enjoying the change from venison to a heavier meat. The dogs, more starved than feasted during the last six months, gorged themselves until they could hardly move. We had meat enough to last a fortnight, yet the hunters wantonly shot three caribou, bringing in only the hides, the back fat, and the sinew. When I remonstrated against such wastefulness they merely said that caribou would always be plentiful, and that they wanted more hides to trade with their neighbours. There was one way in which I could check the slaughter, by threatening to supply no ammunition during the winter to any one who wasted the meat. The threat accomplished more than I had anticipated. They not only brought in one of the carcasses, but presented me with all the marrow-